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Guarding the Immigration Gates

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What Has Been Done What is Still to be Done

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Address delivered at
State Convention, American Legion
Catalina, California
September 15, 1925

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By
V. S. McClatchy

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FOREWORD

The address which follows was delivered at the Annual Convention of the American Legion, Department of California, at Catalina Island, Calif., Sept. 15, 1925, by V. S. McClatchy, Secretary and Executive Officer of the California Joint Immigration Committee, which committee represents in immigration matters the California state organizations of the American Legion, the American Federation of Labor, the Grange, and the Native Sons of the Golden West. The Committee includes James K. Fisk, Department Adjutant, American Legion (Chairman); Paul Scharrenberg, Secy.-Treas., State Federation of Labor; George R. Harrison, Master, State Grange; Edward J. Lynch, Past Grand President, Native Sons of the Golden West; Hon. U. S. Webb, State Attorney General; Hon. J. D. Phelan (Treasurer); and V. S. McClatchy (Secretary).

The convention, prior to its adjournment, adopted resolutions (1) strongly opposing any modification of the exclusion provision of the Immigration Act, either by placing Japan on a quota basis, or otherwise; and (2) urging that effective measures be adopted to prevent the smuggling across the border of aliens in violation of the immigration law, and recommending complete registration of all aliens in the country as the most effective method of combating the evil.

Guarding the Immigration Gates

By

V. S. McCLATCHY

Secretary

California Joint Immigration Committee

Peace has its achievements, no less important in world progress than the victories of war. History will never tire of telling what the American Legion did to make the world safe for democracy; but history too will have much to say of the things the Legion did since the war, and is still doing, without self-glorification, for the welfare of the nation. When that story is written by those sufficiently removed in time and sentiment and relation to have an unprejudiced perspective, there will stand forth the work done by the Legion to maintain the standards of American citizenship, upon which depend the future life of the nation, and to save state and nation for the white race.

We are living now the opening chapters of that story. It is well that every Legionnaire should be familiar with them and understand the present emergency that he may be the better prepared to do his share, for the end is not yet. There are battles yet to be fought and won. There are those who would open the immigration gates to insidious foes whose peaceful penetration would be more dangerous to the nation than the invasion of a hostile army. Thousands of such foes are now being surreptitiously bootlegged across the border every month and are practically safe from apprehension and deportation in absence of some method of registration.

A MENACE TO THE NATION

For a quarter century and more a dangerous condition has been developing in the American nation, threatening its perpetuity. Before the war we were too busy making money to note the situation; during the war all our energies were concentrated on winning; but after the war, when we commenced to take stock, the realization of the facts dawned on us and urged us to apply a remedy.

Tests made in connection with the draft during

the war period showed that the physical and mental standard of the average American citizen had very much lowered; that a not inconsiderable portion of the population was composed of individuals little better than morons; that an astonishingly high percentage had an average intelligence not superior to that of a child of 11 years of age. In looking about for the cause of this alarming situation, it was found that the type of immigrants admitted during the last quarter century was generally much less desirable for American citizenship than that which had come previously; that millions of these later immigrants had not only not been assimilated, but that great masses of them were apparently unassimilable, for some generations at least; that many who had been accepted as citizens were not only improperly equipped for citizenship, but had sought the privilege only for the advantages conferred, and with neither desire nor intent to fulfill the obligations thereof in time of stress.

Historic towns of New England, now industrial centers, have populations more than half foreign, knowing no English and caring nothing for American ideals. In the great cities of New York and Chicago are foreign communities numbering hundreds of thousands. The mere presence in the country of great numbers of those who are foreign, if not inimical, to American ideals and institutions constitutes a grave danger because of their possible influence on thought and action of growing Americans. Not only had the "melting pot" failed to function properly in that we had not digested much of the material accepted for residence and citizenship, but the future looked dark because the birth rate among these new immigrants of lower standards of living is high, while that among the old established assimilated stock steadily decreases to the vanishing point. Like begets like; and mental, physical and moral efficiency are not bred by parents lacking those qualities. In a democracy where the majority rules the steady proportional increase of mental and physical defectives must lead inevitably in time to the decline and death of the nation.

Through our open gates for some years before the war had come in each year as many as a million and a quarter immigrants, most of them of

an undesirable character; and the reports from Consular representatives throughout Europe immediately following the war, indicated that if the gates were again opened we would be flooded each year by not less than 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 even less desirable immigrants, the culls and wastes of the great war.

The American Legion fought determinedly against opening the gates under these conditions, and insisted that all immigration should be excluded for five or ten years, until we could devise means for assimilating what we had already admitted, and could formulate selective plans under which there would be admitted hereafter only such elements as would maintain American standards. The American Federation of Labor was equally insistent that severe restrictive measures should be enforced. The House Immigration Committee of Congress made exhaustive investigation of the subject; and, as public opinion was gradually educated, a preliminary restrictive immigration bill was passed in 1920, and renewed in 1922, and a comprehensive plan, based on "national origin," adopted in the Immigration Act of 1924, contemplating a quota immigration each year of 150,000.

ALIENS INELIGIBLE TO CITIZENSHIP

The threatened danger against which the national origin plan of restriction safeguarded, came from Europe. This nation, with its attention focused on that danger, was better prepared to listen to the reiterated warning from California as to a still greater danger threatened from Asia. That problem was before the House Immigration Committee in 1919, when Dr. Sidney Gulick, on behalf of various church and other organizations, presented a bill containing the "grandfather clause," which would have admitted all blood relatives of every Asiatic who had found entrance into this country, with the entire families of such relatives. Under that provision the Japanese, in whose interests Dr. Gulick spoke, could have entered the country to the number of hundreds of thousands as rapidly as transportation could be provided.

Statements made on behalf of California at that time induced the Congressional Committee to come to the Pacific Coast in 1920 and hold hearings at

various points from San Diego to Seattle, and to continue thereafter the investigation thus commenced. The American Legion in 1921, in national convention, appointed a National Oriental Committee, with Thomas Swale of the State of Washington as Chairman, to investigate and report on this subject. The committee made exhaustive reports in 1922 and 1923, a briefer one in 1924, and is now preparing a comprehensive report for the 1925 convention. As a result of the first report the national convention of the Legion in 1922 passed unanimously strong resolutions demanding the exclusion of all aliens ineligible to citizenship. It reiterated those demands in subsequent conventions, and its activities have been directed towards accomplishing that purpose since. The California State Legislature had previously taken similar action. The American Federation of Labor, in national convention, made the same demand; and the Native Sons of the Golden West had worked along those lines for some time. These activities induced the insertion of a measure excluding ineligible aliens in the restrictive immigration bill presented to Congress in 1922. That bill was not passed, however, the old act being renewed for 2 years; but in 1924 the exclusion measure came up again, and, after a protracted battle, was passed and became a part of the new Immigration Act.

We shall consider first the nature and extent of the danger which induced Congress, notwithstanding great opposition, to pass this exclusion measure; then outline the steps taken by the Legion and other agencies acting with it, which forced the matter upon the attention of Congress; and finally present a picture of the present situation which threatens reopening of the whole question and calls for aggressive defensive tactics.

NATURALIZATION AND EXCLUSION

In 1790, United States, by a Federal act, denied the privilege of naturalization to all except individuals of the white race. After our Civil War, that law was amended so as to admit blacks to that privilege, in the hope of solving the problem created by slavery; but in other respects the law has remained unchanged, and today, as

135 years ago, aliens of the yellow and brown races are debarred from citizenship.

In conformity with the spirit of that law the United States government has promptly adopted measures excluding as immigrants any element of the yellow or brown races when that element assumed dangerous proportions in immigration. The Chinese were excluded by Act of 1882, renewed each ten years thereafter. Japanese immigration having assumed undesirable proportions, an exclusion measure was adopted against them in 1907, but in deference to their wishes it took the form of a "Gentlemen's Agreement" instead of an exclusion act and Japan was to secure, through operation of her passport system, results as to Japanese immigration similar to those secured with regard to Chinese by the Exclusion Act. When, in 1917, Hindus commenced to come in numbers, Congress passed what is known as the "Barred Zone Act", excluding the remaining races of Asia, ineligible to citizenship under our law, including the inhabitants of India and other countries.

Why were the yellow and brown races of Asia, which include half the population of the globe, made ineligible for naturalization and excluded as immigrants? Not because we assume any racial superiority for the white race. China has a civilization which antedates that of Europe by centuries; and Japan has accomplished in 60 years by raising herself from a feudal condition to the modern plane of western political and industrial civilization what it took the white race four or five hundred years to do. The action as to the yellow and brown races was defensive purely: first in protection of our own people individually because of the lower standards of living of those races and our inability to meet them in economic competition. Second, because those races are so radically different from the white race in heredity, tradition, psychology, religion, ideals and everything that fixes racial identity that assimilation, in the sense of amalgamation or absorption, is not possible, or if possible, would be disastrous; and because to have either the yellow or brown race living side by side with whites in established communities, with equal rights, either here or in Asia,

would be certain to breed racial trouble and international misunderstanding.

And of all the Asiatic races ineligible to citizenship under our law, the Japanese prove most dangerous when admitted, because, in addition to their advantages in economic competition, and our inability to assimilate them, characteristics which they share with other Asiatics, they are superior to the other Asiatic races in ambition, aggressiveness, co-operation, pride of race and determination to establish themselves as Japanese wherever they colonize, with a sensitive and powerful nation behind them.

The measures referred to, adopted by the United States for excluding the yellow and brown races, were effective as to all except the Japanese, primarily because we enforced the regulations as to other races but permitted Japan to carry out the understanding as to her nationals. The Chinese have decreased in number more than fifty per cent since the exclusion act was passed. No more Hindus come. The Japanese, however, have multiplied. In consequence the Oriental Committee of the American Legion, in its first report said that "the only remaining Oriental question is the Japanese question." In public debate and in Congressional consideration this question has been referred to constantly as the Japanese question, because it is the Japanese and their advocates alone, who have protested and fought against the passage of the general law excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship, insisting on an exceptional discrimination in favor of the Japanese.

RESULTS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

Let us see now how serious the Japanese immigration question had become. In 1875 there were no Japanese in this country. There are now 300,000 of them, 125,000 in Hawaii and 175,000 in continental United States. California alone contains about 120,000. They are increasing by birth alone at the rate of over 12,000 per year.

There are more Japanese in United States than there are in all the other countries of the world combined, outside of the Empire of Japan.

Of all the English-speaking countries United States alone has permitted the Japanese, an alien,

unassimilable race, with dangerous advantages in economic competition, to secure such a foothold in its territory. South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand—dominions of Great Britain which had a close treaty with Japan—excluded Japanese from the first; and Canada, which failed to exclude when the opportunity offered and afterwards was compelled to enter into a Gentlemen's Agreement, has found that Agreement so unsatisfactory, even after amendment, that British Columbia, now the Province most affected, is demanding absolute exclusion.

The Territory of Hawaii, our outpost on the Pacific, is practically, a Japanese colony. Japanese now constitute almost half the population, the combined white races constituting less than one-fifth. More than half the school children are Japanese and, according to two authorities, one a representative of the American Museum of History, who made investigations for over a year in Hawaii, the other, Prof. Harada, a Japanese Professor in the University of Hawaii, the number of Hawaiian-born Japanese entitled to vote will constitute a majority of the electorate of the territory by 1940.

In California before passage of the alien land law in 1913, the Japanese had acquired over 75,000 acres of rich land, and that quantity is being steadily increased by purchase on behalf of California-born Japanese. In 1920, according to the report of the State Board of Control, the Japanese had acquired control, through purchase or lease, of one-eighth of the irrigated lands of the state, in consequence of which the state alien land law was strengthened. In certain districts and communities they have secured control of various industries and occupations. A report of Dr. J. L. Pomeroy, health officer of the County of Los Angeles, a few years ago, showed that in certain districts the Japanese births exceed the white births. The license collector of the City of Los Angeles reported a few years ago that there were then in the city over 4,000 separate businesses conducted by Japanese. Of this number more than 1,100 were vegetable and fruit stores and 500 were grocery stores, each one of which probably displaced a white citizen and a white family.

In the State of Washington the City of Seattle

finds that half of her hotels are owned by Japanese. In the rich Yakima Valley the Japanese had secured by lease from Indians on the reservation, control of a large part of the valley, and it was only after protest by the American Legion that a stop was put to this under orders issued by Secretary Fall of the Interior Department. Colonization efforts of more or less magnitude have been inaugurated by the Japanese in other states.

FAILURE OF GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT

Why and how were these conditions brought about? The result is due to the failure of the Gentlemen's Agreement to accomplish its agreed purpose. In 1907, when it was adopted, there were but 55,000 Japanese in continental United States. If the Agreement had operated as did the Chinese Exclusion Act, as was intended, the number would have steadily decreased. It multiplied threefold instead, because the Japanese introduced relatives and women for wives, which were not permitted to the Chinese; and our government weakly acquiesced in these violations of the intent of the Agreement.

The results of the Agreement in operation are aptly illustrated by the following official figures from the Immigration Department. For the year ending June 30, 1924, the last year under operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, 8,481 Japanese of the "immigrant" class were admitted to the United States, nearly all of whom came for permanent residence. During the six months following, the first six months under our exclusion law, there were admitted 453 Japanese. None of these, however, came for permanent settlement. They were all students, tourists, diplomats, merchants, etc., admitted for temporary sojourn only, the department's "immigrant" classification including all those who come for more than a year's stay regardless of the purpose for which they come and whether for permanent or temporary sojourn.

There is dispute as to the provisions and intent of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Bear in mind that it is not a document, but consists only of a series of notes and correspondence between departments of the two nations; and that it has never been made public, and has not even been seen by the

Immigration Committees of Congress when called on to frame new immigration laws, or by the Department of Labor when called on to make regulations governing Japanese immigration.

The best authority which we have, and no better authority need be offered, for the conditions of the Gentlemen's Agreement, is ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who made it. He has made plain in a number of documents which have been given to the public, that it was made for a similar purpose as the Chinese Exclusion Act; that is to say to prevent an increase of Japanese population in Continental United States on the theory that the two races are unassimilable, and that any large settlement of Japanese in this country, with their advantage in economic competition, would be certain to provoke racial strife and international trouble.

The Agreement failed, therefore, almost from inception, to accomplish its declared purpose, and should have been set aside many years ago when California first called attention to the fact. Aside from that, however, it should never have been made because it surrendered to a foreign nation our sovereignty, permitting that nation to regulate immigration of its nationals into our country; it violated the Congressional prerogative for regulation of immigration, for during the present century immigration from every other country except Japan has been regulated under the Constitution by general or special act of Congress; and it sacrificed the Territory of Hawaii, for while assuming to protect continental United States it gave Japan a free hand in colonizing our Pacific outpost. President Roosevelt thought he had sufficiently safeguarded the continent when he provided that should the Agreement fail of its declared purpose, then an exclusion act would be passed against Japan. In 1909 he thought it was operating successfully, for he called attention of the California Legislature to the fact that during the first six months of the Agreement's operation Japanese population in United States had decreased 2,000.

WHY CONGRESS APPROVED EXCLUSION

Congress, in putting an end to the Agreement and stopping Japanese immigration, did so by passing a general law carrying out the established policy of the nation excluding all aliens ineligible for citizenship. The law was not discriminatory, for it applies equally to half the population of the globe. If the new policy of restrictive immigration in protection of our standards of citizenship is to be carried out what more logical than to exclude first such elements as under our laws may not become citizens and are therefore hopelessly unassimilable. Congress did not seriously consider passage of an exclusion act against Japan because that would have been on its face an act of discrimination, seriously hurtful to Japan's pride, though Japan had herself agreed to such procedure should the Agreement fail in operation.

To the statement of friends of Japan that some other method could have been adopted to accomplish the purpose intended without hurting Japan's feelings, there is conclusive answer in the fact that through Japan and her friends there were three plans only suggested to Congress, to-wit: A modified Agreement, or a new Agreement; a treaty; and quota for Japan. Each one of these plans in turn was given careful and exhaustive consideration by Congress and each was rejected for excellent reason in that it either surrendered the sovereignty of this nation, or it invaded a prerogative of Congress, or it discriminated in favor of Japan against all other Asiatic nations whose nationals are ineligible to American citizenship and violated thereby an established national policy.

Congress, in adopting this measure excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship, did an extraordinary thing which had never before been done by it, for it passed the measure by practically unanimous vote in the face of the most determined and widespread opposition. The Secretary of State opposed it; the President threatened to veto it if passed; the organized churches throughout the country, the missionary element and the peace societies fought it; commercial organizations, fearful of injury to trade, protested violently; most of the leading newspapers throughout the Eastern

states editorially denounced it and insisted that California was provoking war with Japan because of her narrow and prejudiced views.

Why did Congress pass the exclusion measure under such conditions? Because during its three months' investigation, supplemented by long previous study, an exhaustive presentation of the facts satisfied it that only in this way could the rights and welfare of the nation be protected; and that intelligent and loyal Americans, when they learned the facts, would fully approve the action taken.

There has been considered thus far the danger to the nation in Japanese immigration under operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement and the remedy applied by Congress. Now we consider the part played by the American Legion and organizations co-operating with it in securing that action by Congress.

FORMATION OF JOINT COMMITTEE

The National Oriental Committee of the American Legion, in its first report in 1922, declared that the Legion had passed resolutions enough, but had not taken enough action in support of its expressions of policy on the Japanese question. In California, where the danger had assumed most serious form and where various organizations had taken decided stand in regard thereto, a similar viewpoint developed. It was apparent that the organized propaganda in favor of the Japanese directed by church and other activities could not be successfully combated by resolutions alone. State bodies of the American Legion, Federation of Labor, Grange and Native Sons of the Golden West, all earnestly arrayed against Japanese immigration, found that their executives were too busy in attending to routine duties, to give time to action on the Japanese situation. Even the various exclusion leagues were not organized on such lines as would enable them to make effective showing against the well managed and amply financed drive in favor of the Japanese.

So was evolved the idea of the four state organizations named to handle the immigration problem through an authorized and representative committee with an executive force and permanent office. Such a committee was organized and in time

adopted the title of the "California Joint Immigration Committee." It is composed of seven members including the executive officer of each of the four state organizations, with the Department Adjutant of the American Legion as Chairman.

The committee fulfills three clearly defined purposes: (1) to keep advised as to propaganda and efforts directed against the national policy of restrictive immigration, and particularly as applied to aliens ineligible to citizenship; (2) to be prepared with data and literature to meet argument and attack; (3) to actively oppose movements of the kind through distribution of literature and presentation of the facts by speakers. Through translators it keeps in touch with the expressed sentiments of the Japanese; it prepares and issues, as occasion demands, leaflets on each new phase of the situation; and it seeks through correspondence and otherwise, to correct misunderstandings as to the facts, and thus to remove cause for difference of opinion among Americans and restore better feeling on the part of the Japanese.

The publications of the committee are now recognized as furnishing accurate and up-to-date information on a subject of overshadowing national importance and interest, and are in demand accordingly for use by public officials, public libraries, newspaper offices, debate teams and the public generally.

It was due to the efforts of the California Joint Immigration Committee that the exclusion measure was retained in the immigration bill presented to Congress in 1924 in the face of demands for its withdrawal. Three members of the California Committee journeyed to Washington in March, 1924, to present the matter to the Senate Immigration Committee which had decided to drop the exclusion feature from the bill; and these members met, before the Senate Committee, the forces arrayed against exclusion, led by Dr. Sidney L. Gulick. It was undoubtedly the presentation of facts thus made that induced Congress to decide in opposition to the Administration view and to public clamor that the exclusion of aliens ineligible to citizenship should be a feature of the restrictive immigration act. For it is not generally known that a careful poll of Senate and House

showed a two-thirds majority for exclusion two days before appearance of the Hanihara letter. That letter is still supposed by many to have induced the action on exclusion. What it really did was to make practically unanimous an action which had already been decided on in effect by a working majority.

CORRECTING MISUNDERSTANDINGS

Enactment of the exclusion provision by Congress was followed by violent protest from Japan, by appeal on her part to the League of Nations, and to the Pope at Rome for interference on her behalf and by propaganda looking to an arousing of public sentiment in this country which would force Congress to repeal the measure, or at least modify it so far as it affects Japanese. That movement received encouragement and active assistance from church, and missionary, and peace, and women organizations throughout the United States, all encouraging Japan to continue her protest and to expect that the law would be repealed or amended.

In meeting this situation, the California Joint Committee proceeded on the theory that a proper understanding of the facts would influence these various organizations to cease their misdirected activities and that Japan herself would learn that she had been acting under misinformation and unwise counsel from her friends in this country. In this campaign the committee used very extensively, both here and in Japan, two leaflets, "Congress and Japan" and "California's Answer to Japan," which explain fully the reasons which actuated Congress and the facts which left it no alternative. These leaflets were published in English language newspapers of Tokyo, one in the "Japan Advertiser" and the other in the "Japan Times." They were also translated into Japanese, and published serially in the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco and in the similar newspaper in Los Angeles. Throughout the campaign the California committee acted in accord with the suggestion of President Coolidge when he said: "The incident is closed. We must seek by some means besides immigration to demonstrate the friendship and respect we feel for the Japanese nation."

The effect of this policy was notably excellent. Among the Japanese in this country and in Japan there grew up a sentiment, more or less widespread, that they had a misconception of the action and intent of Congress, and that the injury to their pride and prestige was more in that misunderstanding than in the situation itself. In California a number of organizations, representing church and international goodwill, and missionary, and Sunday School, and women activities, were persuaded by consideration of the facts that their advocacy of Japan's cause had been precipitate, perhaps, and not in accord with American interest; and gradually the fight in this state by those activities was abandoned.

A NEW CAMPAIGN FOR JAPAN

So we were approaching, apparently, under these conciliatory tactics, a better understanding with our Japanese friends, when there was launched, in March of this year, a nation-wide campaign to force Congress to reopen the question and to so amend the measure excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship as to except Japanese from the operation thereof, and grant them quota, similar to that given Europeans. New agitation was inaugurated in Japan, with the result that Japan was stirred to renewed efforts, and through various instrumentalities renewed her protest and demands. A questionnaire was widely distributed throughout Japan in July, 1925, under authority of American church organizations, asking specifically "Has not the Japanese exclusion law given rise to a decisive and permanent anti-American sentiment and the conviction that a Japan-American war is inevitable?" This is a "leading question," not only suggestive, but provocative of illwill. Another query was, "would not the former friendliness to America and Christianity be restored if the Japanese exclusion law were revised and Japan put on quota, like European nations"; certainly a direct invitation to Japan to continue and press her demand for quota.

As a partial effect of this campaign in Japan, apparently, Viscount Shimpei Goto of Tokyo, gave to the Tokyo correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin an interview intended apparently

for German consumption, but which was afterwards translated and cabled to the United States and published here. The following sentence from that interview is indicative of the general trend thereof: "The right to colonize in California is a question of vital importance to Japan. We deny that America, a country built up by immigration, has a right to pass an immigration law." This, it may be assumed, is the general point of view of official Japan; and whenever and wherever opportunity offers with any prospect of success that point of view will be pressed. It was not because Japan had abandoned any hope of securing from the United States treatment for her nationals similar to that conceded Europeans that she ceased, prior to this new church campaign, the insistent pressing of her demands. It was because she had become convinced that to press such demands at this time would not only fail of success but would strengthen the present attitude of Congress, increase friction and make more difficult the securing of any concession in the future. The more thoughtful and better-informed Japanese of the non-official class, both here and in Japan, deprecate the present Gulick-Wickersham movement, believing that it will ultimately injure rather than benefit their cause. *Nichi Bei*, the Japanese newspaper of San Francisco has so expressed itself editorially.

HEADS OF THE MOVEMENT

This campaign, under leadership of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick and George W. Wickersham for reopening the exclusion law, is fathered by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, a powerful organization including most of the Protestant denominations in United States, with its subsidiary organization, the Commission for International Justice and Goodwill, and two other organizations, the National Committee on American-Japanese Relations, and the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, both of which were formed by Dr. Gulick for the purpose of aiding Japan in her immigration contention.

The following information as to the leaders of this movement is interesting. Dr. Gulick was born and reared and lived most of his life in the Orient. He was a professor in the Doshisha University of

Japan and had thoroughly absorbed the Japanese point of view. He came to the United States ten years ago on leave from that University, and has devoted his time since then in attempted conversion of the American nation to his so-called "new Oriental policy" which calls for granting to Asiatics, and particularly to Japanese, all the privileges and rights accorded to Europeans, including privileges as to immigration and citizenship. He early converted the leaders of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ to his point of view, and as leader of their Oriental Department has been in position to push that movement as an established church policy. He is Executive Secretary of each of the other three organizations named.

George W. Wickersham was once United States Attorney General. Afterwards he acted as paid counsel for the Japanese before the United States Supreme Court in various cases wherein they sought to have set aside state and federal laws so far as Japanese are affected thereby, notably in the matters of land holding and naturalization. In 1922, when the airplane fraud cases were before Congress for investigation under charges preferred by Congressman Woodruff of Michigan, a Legionnaire, Wickersham represented Mitsui & Co., the great banking firm of Japan, which was involved in such charges. It was shown that the two airplane companies, the Standard Aircraft Corporation and the Standard Aero Co., supposed to be American, were really owned and controlled by Mitsui & Co.; that frauds had been perpetrated by them on the government to the extent of some millions of dollars and that planes and blue prints had been taken and shipped to Japan. Abraham F. Myers was appointed to take charge of all wartime fraud cases and the investigation of the airplane cases was blocked and finally dropped. Congressman Woodruff charged on the floor of the House, April 22, 1924, that Myers had been appointed to his position through the influence of Wickersham and for the very purpose of stopping the investigation. Wicksesham is now Chairman of the Commission for International Justice and Goodwill, and also of the National Committee for American-Japanese Relations

It seems extraordinary that men with such rec-

ords should have been selected or permitted to lead a fight in the name of a great national church organization against Congress and in behalf of Japan for opening the immigration gates to one of the races ineligible to citizenship under our laws. But Americans, impressed with the necessity for safeguarding the standards of citizenship against assault, however insidious or indirect, must face conditions as they find them and adopt proper defensive measures.

CHURCH INTERFERENCE IN LEGISLATION

There is not found anywhere else in the world similar interference in immigration legislation in behalf of the Japanese by Protestant or other church organizations. It is not found in those dominions of Great Britain which have always rigidly excluded Japanese immigration. It is not found in Canada, where Japanese find entrance under a Gentlemen's Agreement, and where the western frontier province, British Columbia, is now playing a role similar to that played for years by California in pointing out the danger and demanding cancellation of the agreement and absolute exclusion.

Why this difference? Is the brand of brotherhood of man promulgated by the churchmen of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada less sincere or less practical than that offered by the churchmen of similar denominations in the United States? Certainly not!

Then it must be because we have here an element not found in the British Dominions—an advocate from Japan in guise of a missionary churchman who by clever use of propaganda has persuaded church leaders that Christian principles call for admission to the United States of unassimilable elements which church leaders in the British Dominions, in national interests, have assisted, either actively or passively in excluding.

In the American Federation of Labor, the Grange, and the American Legion, as also in the Native Sons of the Golden West, are many, many thousands who are practicing Christians and members of churches constituent bodies of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. But notwithstanding that fact they stand solidly behind

their respective organizations in insisting that church policy or church plans shall not be permitted to dictate interference in national legislation in manifest detriment to national interest.

The California Joint Immigration Committee assumes that the great mass of members in the churches constituent bodies of the Federal Council is composed almost entirely of American citizens not less loyal than the church members in the four organizations represented by the Committee; and that if the churchmen now actively or passively espousing Japan's cause can be induced to carefully consider a fair statement of the facts as Congress saw them they will protest against further use of church name and influence in opposition to the act of Congress. The Committee's campaign against the Gulick-Wickersham movement is being conducted on that basis, and it is believed that churchmen of the Eastern States will not be less amenable to reason than have been the churchmen of California. The committee's pamphlet "America and Japan" answers the statement with which Messrs. Gulick and Wickersham opened the attack on the present law, and, taken in conjunction with the two publications of the committee previously mentioned and the facts which you have heard today, should satisfy any intelligent and unprejudiced churchman of the propriety of the stand taken by the American Legion and the organizations allied with it in this cause.

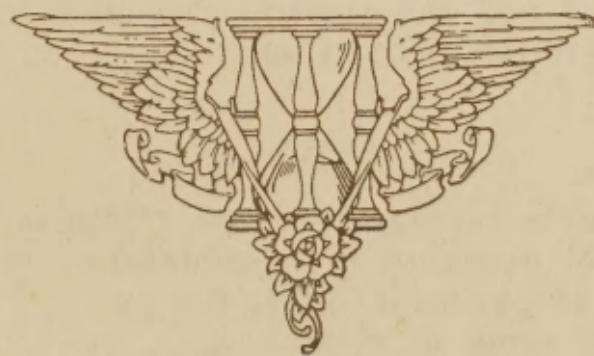
THE THREATENED DANGERS

The nation's present established policy of closely restricting immigration is threatened at this time by danger from two sources:

First, by possible amendments to the immigration act modifying the general restrictions, or removing them entirely so far as they apply to certain elements. In that category belongs the present movement to make exception for the Japanese from the provision excluding aliens ineligible to citizenship. And if the bars are let down anywhere, or to any degree, there will be insistent demand from many sources that they be let down still more. There should be a tightening and not a loosening of restrictions, regardless of the influences demanding concessions.

Second, by surreptitious entry from Canada, Mexico and Cuba. According to Secretary of Labor Davis many thousands are entering in this way each month. They are generally of the most undesirable character, paying heavy fee or bribe for assistance in breaking the law and entering secretly a country which does not want them. It is not feasible to defend thousands of miles of sea coast and border adequately against such surreptitious entry, nor is detection of violators after entry easy in the absence of a system of registration, as urged by Secretary Davis, or some similar plan. It is conceivable that under the present conditions the immigration act, so far as concerns restriction of undesirable immigration, might soon become a dead letter.

The situation is one which must cause great concern to the American Legion and to the other organizations affiliated with it in immigration restriction. We fought during the war to save the nation from the onward march of an enemy eager for world conquest; we labored after the war to close the gates to insidious foes whose peaceful penetration would prove more disastrous to American citizenship than would an invading army; and now we must carefully guard gates and border against assault or surreptitious entry. In that sacred duty every citizen can and should perform effective service.



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